

America's Peace Aims

A Committee Report



PRICE 10 CENTS

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

—
1941

APPRECIATION is expressed to Rosary College, River Forest, Ill., for sponsoring the publication of this pamphlet, thereby helping to promote that condition and aim of peace described by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII:

"The more Christian justice, fraternity and charity animate and guide individuals and groups, so much more also is established among nations, a spiritual atmosphere making possible, indeed easy, the solution of many problems which today appear, or really are insoluble."

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THE REPORT

"America's Peace Aims" is a Report of the following Committees and Sub-Committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace: Ethics, International Law, International Organization, Economic Life, Social Welfare, Europe, Latin America. Preceding a discussion meeting of C. A. I. P. members in and around New York, held at the Fordham University Law School, November 9, 1941, the President of the Association, John L. McMahon, announced that representatives of C. A. I. P. committees would be appointed to consider the formulation of a report, predicated on the assumption that Germany would not be finally victorious, which would attempt to apply the Five Conditions of a Just Peace" enunciated by Pope Pius XII to the following points:

- (a) An American offer of acceptable and somewhat fair terms of peace.
- (b) An American offer of a plan of world economic organization to help the "fulfillment of the needs and just demands of peoples."
- (c) American co-operation in a political world organization to improve the terms of peace, help secure world economic co-operation, and prevent war.

The whole membership of the Association was circularized for suggestions in regard to the proposed report, and the appointed Committee met in New York on January 26, 1941, to consider these suggestions and to decide in more detail the scope and content of the Report. Before the first draft was formulated, the subject was discussed at a meeting of the Boston members of the C. A. I. P., held at the Boston-in-Town College, February 15, and at two informal discussions in Washington. The first draft was submitted to all the members of the special Committee appointed for the purpose and revised in the light of their comments and criticism. The revision was sent to the above-mentioned Committees and to all members of the C. A. I. P. for comments and suggestions and formed the basis of discussion at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Association, Trinity College, Washington, April 14-15. An Editorial Committee appointed at the Conference revised the report again to take care of points agreed upon in the Conference discussion. This revision was sent to the Chairmen of the interested Committees for final approval, after which it was presented to the Executive Council of the Association, which ordered it published. The Appendices to the Report, unless so designated, are not Committee productions.

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PREFACE

*"Five Conditions of a Just Peace"*¹—Guide for "America's Peace Aims"

"We believe those who with watchful eyes consider these serious potentialities and the possibility of such an evolution of events will, notwithstanding war and its horrible accompaniments, hold themselves wholly prepared to define clearly, so far as they themselves are concerned, the fundamental points of a just and honorable peace at the opportune moment; and that they would not flatly reject opportunity for negotiations, whenever the occasion presents itself, with the necessary guarantees and security.

"First. A fundamental condition of a just and honorable peace is to assure the right to life and independence of all nations, large and small, strong and weak. One nation's will to live must never be tantamount to a death sentence for another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, injured or imperilled, the juridical order requires reparation whose measure and extent are not determined by the sword or selfish, arbitrary judgment, but by the standards of justice and reciprocal equity.

"Second. That order, reestablished in such a manner, may be tranquil and durable—the cardinal principles of true peace—nations must be liberated from the heavy slavery of the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect rights, become the tyrannical violator of them.

"Conclusions of peace which failed to attribute fundamental importance to disarmament, mutually accepted, organic and progressive both in practice and spirit, and failed to carry out this disarmament loyally, would sooner or later reveal their inconsistency and lack of vitality.

¹ See "Christmas Message, 1939" in *Pope Pius XII and Peace, 1939-40*, pp. 38-40 (National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington D. C.); also *The Pope's Peace Program and the United States*, J. M. Eagan (The Paulist Press, New York). For earlier papal statements and action see: *Peace Action of Pope Benedict XV*, History Committee; *The Church and Peace Efforts*, History Committee; *A Papal Peace Mosaic, 1879-1936*; *Permanent Peace Program of Pope Benedict XV*, Donald A. MacLean (Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D. C.).

“Third. In any reordering of international community life it would conform to the rules of human wisdom for all parties concerned to examine the consequences of the gaps and deficiencies of the past; and in creating or reconstituting the international institutions, which have so lofty a mission and at the same time one that is so difficult and full of the gravest responsibilities, they should keep present before them the experiences which poured from the inefficacy or defective operation of similar previous projects.

“And, since it is so difficult—one would be tempted to say almost impossible—for human weakness to foresee everything and assure everything at the time of the drafting of treaties of peace—when it is difficult to be entirely free from passions and bitterness—the establishment of juridical institutions, which serve to guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfillment of terms and, in case of recognized need, to revise and correct them, is of decisive importance for an honorable acceptance of a peace treaty and to avoid arbitrary and unilateral ruptures and interpretations of the terms of these treaties.

“Fourth. A point which should draw particular attention if better ordering of Europe is sought, concerns the real needs and just demands of nations and of peoples as well as of ethnical minorities: demands which, if not always sufficient to form a strict right when there are recognized or confirmed treaties or other juridical titles which oppose them, deserve at all events benevolent examination to meet them in a peaceful way and, where it appears necessary, by means of equitable, wise and harmonious revision of treaties.

“Once true equilibrium among nations is thus brought back and the basis of mutual trust is re-established, many of the incentives to resort to violence would be removed.

“Fifth. But even better and more complete settlements will be imperfect and condemned to ultimate failure, if those who guide the destinies of peoples, and the peoples themselves, do not allow themselves to be penetrated always more and more by that spirit from which alone can arise life, authority and obligation for the dead letter of articles in international agreements—by that spirit, namely, of intimate, acute responsibility that measures and weighs

human statutes according to the holy unshakable rules of Divine Law; by that hunger and thirst for justice which is proclaimed as a Beatitude in the Sermon on the Mount, and which has, as a natural presupposition, moral justice; by that universal love which is the compendium of and most comprehensive term for the Christian ideal, and therefore throws across also a bridge to those who have not the benefit of participating in our own Faith."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE—Five Conditions of a Just Peace—(From Pope Pius XII)	6
AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS	
I. Obligations of the United States	11
II. A United Europe	12
III. World Organization	15
IV. Functions and Forms	17
APPENDICES	
A. Totalitarianism—(From Pope Pius XII)	21
B. Economic Aspects of the Passing Era—(From Ethics and Economic Relations Committee, C. A. I. P.)	22
C. An International Bill of Rights—Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.	23
C'. A New Europe?—(From Pope Pius XII)	24
D. A New Economic Order—(From Ethics and Economic Relations Committee, C. A. I. P.)	25
E. Forms of European Organizations	
I. European Federation—Rev. Gregory Feige	27
II. European Organization—James M. Eagan, Ph.D.	32
III. Steps Towards the Formation of a United Europe— Rev. Patrick J. Higgins, S.J.	34
F. I. Christian Unity—Statement of English Churchmen	35
II. A Just and Durable Peace—(Federal Council of Churches)	37
G. The World Society—(From Pope Pius XII)	37
G'. Migration and Economic Justice—(From Pope Pius XII)	38
H. Inter-American Co-operation—(From Latin America Committee, C. A. I. P.)	39
I. International Boycott Agreement—(From Committees of the C. A. I. P.)	39
J. Forms of World Organization	
I. An Outline for World Organization—Marie J. Carroll	40
II. Plan for a World Organization—Charles G. Fenwick, Ph.D.	46
K. American Catholics and Peace Aims—(From N. C. W. C. Administrative Committee Statement)	47
L. Student Peace Federations Resolution	48

AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS

I

Obligations of the United States

Responsibility. When this war can end, the United States must try to secure a just and charitable peace.

The United States must do this: 1. As an obligation to defend itself and its people, for two world wars in one generation must not be followed by a third; 2. In justice to Europe, for the United States has long influenced Europe's fate and a decision of the United States to ship supplies in war-time to a disunited Europe perhaps determines victory by the dominant countries of Western Europe and a decision not to ship determines victory by the dominant countries of Eastern Europe and Central Europe;¹ 3. In social justice, since world welfare and American welfare demand such a peace; 4. In charity to a stricken world.²

A New Era. The peace must be more than an armistice. It must help to create a new and a better era. The old era was bad. A worse period threatens, which, by no coincidence, has its origins in Central Europe and Eastern Europe. This threatening new era³ means enslavement of peoples to governments, wars of conquest, paganism and the subjection of religion. The era that is passing is one not only of European but of world-wide nationalism,⁴ of imperialism and systematic individual greed,⁵ and of the philosophical and religious systems which have produced these evils—the disruption of Christendom, rationalism and that distortion of Catholicism by Catholics who permit Christ to rule only part of life. The peace which follows this war must help to create a good era.

¹ The countries on the Atlantic from the Netherlands and Great Britain to Spain rely on us and must, while the others up the inland seas—Germany, Scandinavia, the Slav, Baltic, and Balkan countries, and Italy—do not rely on us so much and perhaps now do not need to do so. See Ch. VIII, *Europe and the United States*, Europe Committee, C. A. I. P. See Chs. I, VII, IX for fuller treatment of our influence on Europe.

² See *The Obligation of Catholics to Promote Peace*, Ethics Committee, C. A. I. P.

³ See Appendix A. (Quotation from *Summi Pontificatus*.)

⁴ See *Patriotism, Nationalism and the Brotherhood of Man*, National Attitudes Committee, C. A. I. P.

⁵ See Appendix B. (Quotation from *International Economic Life*.)

After the first world war the United States sought to wash its hands of the responsibility for world justice and world peace that comes from its power. Another world war has followed quickly and the last twenty years have proved to be only an armistice. The responsibility must not be shirked again.

If the totalitarian states win this war, hope of a right peace will be blasted for a long, long time. Yet victory by the British-American quasi-alliance and its allies will not automatically ensure peace based on justice and charity. Peace must be planned.

The Alternatives. This war may continue so long that the peoples of Europe become mentally sick. In any case totalitarian states may still survive at the end of the war—Russia, perhaps a Nazi Germany under another name, perhaps Fascist states elsewhere under other names. For in this age either the totalitarian state or anarchy is the alternative to an order of co-operation between government and freely organized groups; and free organizations have been all but destroyed on the European continent.

Therefore, at some time during this war (providing Germany is not victorious at the time) the United States should insist on peace, suggest terms of peace and prepare to help Europe keep and improve the terms.

II

A United Europe

European Union. Some kind of voluntary European union is a primary need.⁶ The United States has a right to insist on such a union, since Europe's nationalism is destroying Europe and endangering the United States and the world.⁷

Proposals for European union, up to this time, have been useless ever since the discovery of the Americas. The opportunities of an expanding Europe and an expanding world successfully tempted the individualistic greed of the separate countries. Such opportunities are passing as the era which divided Europe col-

⁶ See Appendix C'. (Quotation from Pope Pius XII's 1940 Christmas Message.)

⁷ See Chapters II-VI of *Europe and the United States* for the background of European disunity.

lapses. The great barrier to free and sound union, especially now that the physical unity of Europe has advanced so far, is a union hammered out by a conqueror.⁸

The Rights of Man. First, the rights of man and of peoples must be defined and recognized, and an institutional way established to ensure human rights. See Appendix C for an enumeration of these rights,⁹ respect for which should be secured not only by European union but by world union as well.

National Autonomy. Within a united Europe the principle of local and national autonomy can and must be established,¹⁰ and a way can and must be found to form regional groupings¹¹ and redraw the lines of autonomy as the facts change.

European Economic Organization. Unless Europe organizes its economic life,¹² unemployment, poverty, crisis and war will be permanent. A mere customs union is insufficient for a continent so dependent on outside resources and markets, so industrially and commercially developed and so unequally developed. All the rules of economic morality must be enforced through proper organization and institutions.

The totalitarian states organize and direct economy; but Catholic social teaching proposes a free self-directed economy, in which free organizations of the industries and professions, labor unions included, co-operate with one another and with government.¹³ This is what is needed. One of Europe's gravest problems, however, is restoring enough free organization to make the beginning and the transition to a new economic era.

The longer the war lasts, the more wreckage it causes, the more plant and people are transferred to war purposes and the closer the economic life of Europe is tied to Berlin during the war, the more necessary and important after the war will be a free, Europe-wide economic organization working with a Europe-

⁸ Probably the Soviet Union should be excluded from a united Europe because so much of its territory is Asia. Probably Asia Minor and Egypt should be included as part of the Mediterranean area. The imperial countries should be included and their overseas empires treated as a special problem.

⁹ See also *The Rights of Peoples*, Ethics and Joint Policy Committees, C. A. I. P., and *The Church and the Jews*, C. A. I. P.

¹⁰ See Preface: Point I of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

¹¹ E. g., Danubian, Balkan, etc.

¹² See Preface: Point IV of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

¹³ See Appendix D. (Quotation from *International Economic Life*.)

wide government. Such an organization will have to undertake the rehabilitation of Europe's economic life, represent economic Europe in relation to the outside world, guide its production, incomes, trade and investment and start the economic side of a new era.

Colonies. Europe's great mission of colonizing, Christianizing and civilizing has been injured by disunion; indeed the nationalistic performance of this mission helped to cause disunion. Yet, even now, the mission can be a bond of union, specifically in the administration of the African colonies.

For obvious reasons Europe's dominions or approximate dominions should not be brought politically closer to Europe; and its American and Asiatic colonies are also of interest to other continents and to the whole world. But the African colonies are a responsibility which Europe may be able to handle by itself in collaboration with world organization.

It is, therefore, proposed that the real colonies in Africa, or a considerable number thereof, be transferred to a united Europe under world supervision—perhaps with a mandate system of administration, and certainly with general rights of access to resources and markets, and with the guarantee of the rights of the native populations.

European War Prevention. A united Europe will face the problem of preventing war within its boundaries. The recognized peaceful means of settling differences should be established and invoked; but traditions and current problems may incite war again.

The countries of a united Europe should, at least, agree to throw their economic supplies and armed forces against the country that starts, or aids another in, a war in Europe.

However, with the Soviet Union at Europe's back door, general disarmament and total reliance upon a central police force can scarcely be advocated at this time. Yet the separate military air forces of Europe could well be transformed into a central air police.¹⁴

Governmental Forms. Some Europe-wide form of government is needed for all these purposes.¹⁵ Any one of several forms might

¹⁴ See Preface: Point II of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

¹⁵ See Preface: Point III of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

offer possibilities to meet the situation. Proposals are given in Appendix E.

European Spirit. The fear remains that European peoples and governments lack the spirit to work together. Some countries may still insist on the principles of the totalitarian states, others on the old nationalism and systematic economic greed. Extraordinary patience will be required to attain a workable union based on human dignity and brotherhood.¹⁶

There is this ground for hope. In spite of the totalitarian states and the previous too slow though real progress towards European and world economic brotherhood and governmental co-operation, the effort to build an intimately Christian civilization in Europe has been exerted in our times more widely and intensely than for centuries. Many Catholics stand ready to resume this effort with fervor, training and ability.¹⁷ Many non-Catholics—of the Protestant churches, the synagogues and of no formal religion—hold to, and will work for, eternal principles of justice, peace and civilized life.¹⁸

III

World Organization

Europe Needs World Organization. World economic and governmental organization is needed¹⁹ simultaneously with European organization and for wider reasons. For example, Europe needs world organization to keep the Soviet Union or the United States from encouraging European disruption by giving supplies and military help to aggressor nations in war. The United States should insist on world organization and should offer full co-operation to keep war out of Europe and the United States out of Europe's wars.

World Organization and United States—Asia. The United States needs world organization also to keep war out of Asia and the United States out of Asia's wars.

¹⁶ See Preface: Point V of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

¹⁷ E. g., see *Catholic Organization for Peace in Europe*, Europe Committee, C. A. I. P.

¹⁸ See Appendix F (Statement of English Churchmen, and *A Just and Durable Peace*).

¹⁹ See Preface: Point III of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

Our geographic relation to Asia is comparable to our relation to Europe. Only by Japan's permission can we ship to the Soviet Union in war-time. The Soviet Union, in turn, is always driving toward an open Pacific port, just as in Europe Germany is always trying to correct her geographic position. Japan, for her own profit and power and to thwart the Soviet Union, is trying to control Asia. China, in revolution and threat of subjection, needs our help but can obtain it only with difficulty.

A regional federation in Asia, like that proposed for Europe, would, at this time, mean Japanese domination of China and a Soviet drive against either Europe or Japan. The strongest sort of world organization would be required to prevent such a catastrophe. Even the present situation requires some degree of world organization to prevent a Japanese-American war, a Soviet-Japanese war and a subject China.²⁰

Organization and World Unity. World organization is needed not only to prevent wars and the evils that cause wars; it is needed not alone to keep war out of the world; it is needed to gain the well-being of the world.²¹

Men were created to live together on this earth. Each part of the earth has resources that people of other parts need to live and live well. Each person and each nationality has need of others and has abilities that others need. God made the earth and us that way. He made us one flesh. He redeemed us all. He left one Church.

Four centuries ago Western Europe, by discoveries and colonizations, opened the way for world unity, which has since been advanced by industry; but that unity is only physical. Individual and national greed and pride have continually fought the unity necessary for world welfare and, in consequence, have produced world wars, unemployment, poverty and, now, the portent of totalitarian states. Our generation suffers the fate of living just when physical union has reached a high pitch, and social and spiritual union lags far behind.

²⁰ See *Manchuria: The Problem of the Far East*, Asia Committee, C. A. I. P.

²¹ See Appendix G. (Quotation from *Summi Pontificatus*.) See also *The World Society*, Ethics, National Attitudes, Social, Economics and International Law and Organization Committees, C. A. I. P.

Christ's command to bring all the world under His redemption means saving both souls and civilizations. But mankind has let all the world come under unemployment and war, which ruin both souls and civilizations.

The Americas in World Organization. Of the continents, Europe is at war, Asia is at war, Africa is at war or in subjection, and the Americas are in danger. A physically united world finds only the Americas technically at peace. Because we, the Americas, are rich in physical and human resources and because we lie between and face all of the old continents our peace-time policies affect them and theirs affect us; and their wars are a continual danger to us, distant though we are. Their policies and wars were not so great a danger when the world was large and not so industrialized. Now they are terrifying.

There is a special bond of union among the Americas. We are parts of the same new and hopeful world; the world that tempted Western Europe and helped to split it asunder, that later threw off European control but remained the passive commissary of Western Europe, and now during Europe's disruption is Western Europe's active ally.

Not only the United States, therefore, but the American community of nations, while working for a more perfect union itself,²² should give leadership both to Europe and to the world to unite and should take a responsibility for preserving and perfecting the two organized unities thereafter.

IV

Functions and Forms

League Deficiencies. After the first world war the United States proposed universal national self-determination within a world organization, the League of Nations.²³ But European disunion was too great a strain for a world body to bear even if the United States, the strongest single country, had not refused support to that body in peace or, worse, had not refrained from indicating how it would trade in time of war. European union

²² See Appendix H (Quotation from *Latin America and the U. S.*)

²³ See Preface: Point III of Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

will help to free a world organization from some of its most difficult problems.

League Achievements. The League, apart from the great gap of European unity, followed the right road. Its effective work in promoting international social, labor and cultural betterment should be retained.

The League has accomplished much through its various social welfare commissions, in the abolition of slavery, in regulating the traffic in women, in securing agreements to cease traffic in obscene publications, in controlling opium and other dangerous drug traffic, in effecting improvements in child welfare, in health work and control of epidemics. Notable among its humanitarian activities, the like of which unfortunately will be needed again, was the repatriation of half a million war victims in Europe and Asia.

The autonomous and functionally operating International Labor Organization,²⁴ to which all League members were required to belong, effected improvements in labor standards and conditions of work throughout the world by means of conventions adopted by member countries. In addition the economic services of the League, such as securing international loans and countries in need of rehabilitation, the Economic Intelligence Service for compiling data on world economics, and the work in facilitating international transit and communication need to be preserved in any reconstruction of international organization.

The cultural work done by the League through its organization for International Intellectual Co-operation remains obviously necessary to promote liaison among international scientific and learned bodies and co-operation between national and central libraries and among educational organizations in different countries.

World Organization and Europe. In relation to a voluntarily united Europe, a world organization should be primarily an appeals and review body. For some time also it should furnish Europe positive assistance in protecting human rights, redrawing boundaries, administering the colonies of Africa and guiding eco-

²⁴ See *Catholics and the International Labor Organization*, N. C. W. C., Washington, D. C.

conomic life. Permanently, a world organization will have to cooperate with a united Europe in world economic life and the prevention of European war.

World Organization and the World. In these same matters there is need of world organization for activities of a world-wide character. It is needed specifically to watch over the colonies in Asia and the Americas, provide mandates and correct the colonial situation in the Far East; to expedite transfer of population singly or in mass;²⁵ to protect ordinary human freedom;²⁶ to guide economic life and prevent war.

World Economic Organization. A world economic organization working together with world governmental organization is needed for post-war rehabilitation and for permanent guidance of world economic life. For the permanent purpose such an organization was proposed by committees of this Association in 1933.²⁷ The form urged was similar to that of the International Labor Organization—participation by employers, labor (and, in this case, farmers) and government—with the employer, labor and farmer representatives coming from the free organizations of these groups.

In the performance of its function to guide world economic life for the good of the world, the world economic organization would deal with tariffs,²⁸ credit, monetary policies, access to markets, resources and areas of settlement, quantity of production,²⁹ development of underdeveloped areas, labor standards, price parities, the destruction of economic nationalism and imperialism and the right distribution of wealth and income.

A break with the economic practices of the past is asked. It cannot be a sharp break when many countries may still want totalitarian governments and many others may want to retain customary systems. Over and over again and patiently the attempt must continually be made to end in this way the unemployment, poverty and economic strains that cause war.

²⁵ See Appendix G'. (Pope Pius XII on *Migration and Economic Justice*).

²⁶ See Appendix C. (*An International Bill of Rights*.)

²⁷ *International Economic Life*, a report of the Ethics and Economic Relations Committees C. A. I. P. (See Appendix D.)

²⁸ See also *Tariffs and World Peace*, Economics Committee, C. A. I. P.

²⁹ See *Agriculture and International Life*, Agriculture Sub-Committee, C. A. I. P.

World War Prevention. War itself must be prevented wherever it threatens to arise. It was proposed above that Europe unite its economic resources and military power against the first war-maker and any assisting country or countries within Europe's borders. It is here proposed that all countries, the United States included, shall agree not to ship to the first war-maker anywhere or to any country that ships to it.³⁰ This proposal, which manifestly requires institutions, seems basic; otherwise, for example, Central Europe might rely on the Soviet Union and go to war. The proposal may not work; it assumes prior use of all the other methods proposed for justice and order;³¹ it assumes peace-time pressure on countries unwilling to do justice. If it would be put into effect from it could follow reduction of armaments and abolition of military conscription.³² If collective responsibility does not work we can expect wars worse than any yet seen.

World Organization Forms. The form world organization should take under this proposal must differ from the League of Nations so as to permit the regional autonomy of Europe.

Some forms the world organization might take are described in Appendix J.

A New Spirit. The general lines³³ of the things which must be done and ways to do them are not obscure. But will peoples and governments have sufficient good will to begin and to continue³⁴ in these ways? Perhaps they will be moved by the horror of war to try. There seems, besides, to be more good will than the world tragedy would assume. Perhaps more may be done than now seems possible. It must also be known that any good done is one step forward from which still another step may be

³⁰ See Appendix I. (Quotation from *Boycott Statement*.)

³¹ See *Arbitration and the World Court*, International Law and Organization Committee, C. A. I. P.

³² "First of all, as a fundamental principle moral right must be substituted for the material force of arms. Out of this shall arise a just agreement for a simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be laid down thereafter, without impairing, however, the force needed for the maintenance of public order in each State. In place of armed force should be substituted the noble and peaceful institution of arbitration according to regulations to be made and penalties to be imposed upon any State which might refuse either to submit a national question to such a tribunal or to accept its decisions."—Pope Benedict XV, *To the Belligerent Peoples*, August 1, 1917.

³³ See *International Ethics*, Ethics Committee, C. A. I. P.

³⁴ See Preface; Point V. Pope Pius XII's 1939 Christmas Message.

taken. For the temptation in any such far-reaching program will be to demand too much at once and then, in despair, when that cannot be attained, to do nothing; as if missionaries after converting a pagan tribe were to abandon it because it did not immediately become nearly perfect.

American Catholic Responsibility. The peace and the new era will depend largely on the United States and therefore on Catholics in the United States.³⁵ But we Catholics are confused. We do not sympathize with the new totalitarian states. We are keenly conscious of the evils of the dying era. We are exiles from Europe and know its older evils well. Beyond most Americans we are hopeful of the United States. Yet we still suffer from the temptation to think that religion saves only souls and not also civilizations. If we can fully withstand this temptation, we can fuse all these factors. We can become the leaders we should be in American action to secure a new era of world order and world justice. This is our responsibility as at once Catholic and Americans.³⁶

APPENDIX A

Totalitarianism

"But there is yet another error no less pernicious to the well-being of the nations and to the prosperity of that great human society which gathers together and embraces within its confines all races. It is the error contained in those ideas which do not hesitate to divorce civil authority from every kind of dependence upon the Supreme Being—First Source and absolute Master of man and of society—and from every restraint of a Higher Law derived from God as from its First Source. Thus they accord the civil authority an unrestricted field of action that is at the mercy of the changeful tide of human will, or of the dictates of casual historical claims, and of the interests of a few.

"Once the authority of God and the sway of His law are denied in this way, the civil authority as an inevitable result tends to attribute to itself that absolute autonomy which belongs exclusively to the Supreme Maker. It puts itself in the place of the Almighty and elevates the State or group into the last end of life, the supreme criterion of the moral and juridical order, and therefore forbids every appeal to the principles of natural reason and of the Christian conscience . . ."—Pope Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus* (pp. 22-23, N. C. W. C. Edition).

³⁵ See Appendix K. (Quotation from N. C. W. C. Bishops' Administrative Committee Statement, April 1941.)

³⁶ See Appendix L. (Student Peace Federations Resolution.)

APPENDIX B

Economic Aspects of the Passing Era

"Another no less basic fact is the human rules that handle the new material world. What human rules are in charge of the economic wealth, unity, variety, and change? Specifically what economic and governmental rules?

"What the form of ownership? The rules and practices in production, credit, hiring, buying and selling? The rules and practices upon blending the multitudinous differences into an actual composite and upon lifting low standard areas?

"In summary the rules are these: Concentrated and absolutistic private ownership; a melange of competitive individualism and plutocratic monopoly; economic nationalism, economic imperialism and the international bankers' imperialism; and an as yet unrealized striving for some sort of deep change at each stage in the rules.

"The underlying rule is: It is somehow good, economically wise and for the best interests of all, ultimately, if every individual and every political government tries, as against all other individuals and all other governments, to become as rich and powerful as possible. Rights in ownership, production, credit, buying, selling, and hiring are almost absolute. Rights of a government to help its own nationals against all other nationals and governments are likewise almost absolute and a duty. The change, variety, interdependence and tremendous productivity are subject to the rule of almost unlimited individual, group, and national competition. They are treated not interdependently but anarchically for the interest of those who can win in a world-wide struggle.

"The rule has operated with increasing vigor and clarity almost since the first stage of the material changes in the Era of Discoveries. It was especially clear-cut during the whole second stage, the Era of the Industrial Revolution. It is dominant, though greatly questioned, in the present stage.

"Individual and national success under this rule depend in part upon certain of the physical elements described above. A country, for example, of scant raw materials and power resources, of difficult communicability with other areas, etc., etc., cannot expect to be rich and powerful, nor can its citizens.

"Besides these physical characteristics and matters of productive technique there is the profound psychological fact that from individual to individual and country to country ability to follow the rule varies. Not everyone wishes to spend his life seeking wealth in a competitive and cruel business struggle. Not every people can develop the perfect financier. Not every people can enter wholeheartedly upon a career of economic nationalism, imperialism and bankers' internationalism."—*International Economic Life*, a Report of the Ethics and Economic Relations Committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace (pp. 4-5).

APPENDIX C

An International Bill of Rights ¹

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PREAMBLE:—

We hold these truths to be, if not self-evident, then certainly based on that natural law which is the eternal Law of God as discovered by human reason:

that there exists an equality of rights among all nations, large or small, strong or weak, to life and independence;

that nevertheless the origin of the human family requires that there be acknowledged an *organic unity* within which this equality of rights finds its expression and achieves its end;

that this organic unity of nations demands that the peoples be governed by a rule of law and not by the rule of force;

that this organic unity is broken up by the strivings of *nationalism* bent on achieving its particular aims to the detriment of the common good;

that this organic unity is also disturbed by the doctrine of absolute and unlimited sovereignty;

that "one nation's will to live must never be tantamount to a death sentence for another" (Pius XII);

that a spirit of international responsibility, of a hunger and thirst after justice, and a universal love must be the guiding forces of relations between nations;

that, these things being so, all the peoples of the world enjoy the following rights:—

BILL OF RIGHTS:—

I. The right of economic and political security in the lives, homes, and means of decent livelihood of every person in the world.

II. The right to be delivered from the *slavery of armaments* which exist either to rob others of their rights or for defense against such robbery.

III. The right to demand an equitable, wise, and unanimous *revision of treaties* which impair the equality of all nations.

IV. The right to remove by common action the consequences of past *imperialist aggressions*.

V. The right of free access to raw materials and of *free economic intercourse* among all the peoples of the world without exception.

VI. The right of denying to powerful aggregations of capital within the nations of an unlimited self-regulation of *international economic activities* not subject to any law.

VII. The right of the equal protection of law everywhere in the world for equitable *treatment of laborers*, especially decent conditions of labor, a living wage, reasonable hours, and the abolition of peonage, of child labor, and other economic inequalities.

¹ Presented at the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Catholic Association for International Peace, April 14, 1941, Washington D. C.

VIII. The right of *small nations* that the demands, even legitimate, of larger nations yield before the claims of an organic order which respects the equality of all nations.

IX. The right of all peoples to require, as a matter of international concern, that all associated states respect the following individual rights:

- the right of freedom of conscience and of worship before the State;
- the right of freedom of expression within the law;
- the right of free association, of free assembly, and of free petition of grievances;
- the right of private property; and of being secure against unlawful seizures and confiscations;
- the right of freedom of education according to the wishes of the parent;
- the right to be tried according to the law and to be secure against cruel and unusual punishments;
- the right of ethnic and religious minorities to enjoy equal opportunities for the development of their common humanity.

APPENDIX C'

A New Europe ?

"From the impassioned polemics of warring factions concerning the objectives of the war and the ultimate peace settlements, there emerges evermore clearly defined, the quasi-universal opinion which contends the pre-war Europe as well as its political structure are now undergoing a process of transformation of such nature as to signal the dawn of a new era.

"Europe and its system of states, it is said, will not be as they were before. Something new and better, more evolved organically, sounder, freer and stronger, must replace the past in order to eliminate its defects, its weaknesses and its deficiencies, which are said to have been disclosed convincingly by recent events.

"In the midst of the contrasting systems which are part of our times and dependent upon them, the Church cannot be called upon to favor one more than another. In the orbit of universal value of the Divine law, whose authority obliges not only individuals but nations as well, there is ample room and liberty of action for the most varied forms of political opinion; whilst the practical application of one political system or another depends in a large measure and often quite decisively upon circumstances and causes which considered in themselves are extraneous to the purpose and action of the Church.

"As protectress and herald of the principles of faith and morals it is her sole interest, her sole longing, to convey through educational and religious channels to all peoples without exception the clear waters of the fountains of Our patrimony and values of Christian life, in order that every people in its own peculiar way may enjoy Christian fellowship. Christian ethical-religious impulses to establish a society that would be humanly praiseworthy and spiritually elevated and a source of genuine good.

BASES FOR A NEW ORDER

"Indispensable prerequisites for the search for a new order are:

"One, triumph over hate, which is today a cause of division among peoples; renunciation therefore of the systems and practices from which hate constantly receives added nourishment.

"Two, triumph over mistrust, which bears down as a depressing weight on international law and renders impossible the realization of any sincere agreement.

"Three, triumph over the distressing principles that utility is a basis of law and right, and that might makes right; a principle which makes all international relations liable to fall.

"Four, triumph over those germs of conflict which consist in two-sided differences in the field of world economy; hence progressive action, balanced by correspondent degrees, to arrive at arrangements which would give to every state the medium necessary for insuring the proper standard of living for its own citizens of every rank.

"Five, triumph over the spirit of cold egoism which, fearless in its might, easily leads to violation not only of the honor and sovereignty of states but of the righteous, wholesome and disciplined liberty of citizens as well.

"It must be supplanted by sincere juridical and economic solidarity, fraternal collaboration in accordance with the precepts of Divine law amongst peoples assured of their autonomy and independence. . . ."—Pope Pius XII, Allocution, December 24, 1940.

APPENDIX D

A New Economic Order

"Let us quote from Pius XI's great Encyclical *Reconstructing the Social Order*. . . . 'Then only will the *economic and social organism* be soundly established and attain its end, when it secures for all and each those goods which the wealth and resources of nature, technical achievement, and the *social organization of economic affairs* can give.'

"A full 'social organization' of the 'economic and social organism,' which is a world organism, and a supplementary and supervisory international governmental order must somehow come into existence if two things are to be done: Make the international interdependence itself efficient in producing all the goods that the changing variety of the world's resources, equipment and technique can give; distribute these goods so that the good of all universally will be obtained. Social justice demands both. And the emphasis lies upon a social organization that will include every human element within the thing organized so that all will share in determining production, prices and distribution of the income.

"Now one element almost everywhere is in control. It is the owners and, increasingly, those who control credit; they are dominantly from a few countries. A social organization of the world organism will bring in the now subject peoples and classes. . . .

"The nature of this social organization of economic life is described in general terms in the Encyclical. It is a joint council of all its class organizations in each occupation, that is divided by classes, and a council in each non-class occupation of whatever group organizations may be necessary within it. It is also a joint council of these separate Organized Occupations. The function of this organized economic order is a double one: To direct production and its conditions and to direct distribution and its conditions. It is brought into existence by government on the basis of the free right of organization and representation within it and operates under the supreme directing hand of government. But, without being independent of government, it is autonomous.

"The implication of the Encyclical is that the organized economic order is to fit the underlying economic facts of the market and the governmental order. The economic organization would therefore exist on the regional level within some countries and on the national level in all. It would have a regional international organization in some parts of the world to fit regional international economic subdivisions. It would have a world existence to fit the world economic life and the world society which is struggling to find for itself governmental organization.

"Here is opened up a whole new vista of possibilities and obligations, of economic organization and government action to make the new world economic life fit the needs of all peoples. . . .

"These under the principle are to be applied on the world level. The proposal is this:

"To have governments set up in each country autonomous councils of the existing employers' associations and labor unions of each capitalistic industry and autonomous councils of comparable organizations in non-capitalistic lines of production and service, such as, in the United States, the farm co-operatives.

"To have them serve as administrators both of their single industries and services and, through federations, of all industries and services together.

"To have them so serve as autonomous but not independent arms of government and under its supervision.

"To have these national economic councils co-operate closely on the international field and grow into international economic councils of separate products and services and a joint economic council of all to administer autonomously international economic life under the close co-operation and supervision of international governmental conferences and international permanent governmental organization.

"Such a form of organization permits the progressive whittling away of the two root world economic evils: Absolutistic economic rights of individuals and absolutistic rights of governments, without rushing to the other extreme,—denial of economic rights of individuals and denial of rights of separate governments. It does so by bringing the organized unpropertied, within separate nations and on the world level, inside the frame of economic control and by bringing governmental power out into the open

and putting strength behind it to make it represent the common good of the consumers and the unpropertied and of all society both on the national level and the world level. The aim would be a new distribution of national and world income and wealth so as to meet the common good of the world. Such organization should be provided for in its initial stages by a world monetary and economic conference.

"Such organization is not automatic; by its very nature it is growth. But by the very nature of the conflict that has been erected in private and governmental economic relations between the facts and purposes of economic life and its business and governmental rules, the growth has to be swift.

"Tariffs, monetary policies, access to raw materials and areas of settlement, development of underdeveloped areas, quantity of production, labor standards, price parities and justice, the destruction of imperialism in both of its major phases, the distribution of wealth and income, etc., etc., make up, indeed, the agenda of its work but under a new aspect, the aspect of world common good. . . .

"Essential to its success is a new spirit. For the root of the present world economic regime is immorality. It is the two old vices, greed and pride. Organized economic and governmental action is necessary to fight them inasmuch as disorganization and government inaction or government subjection are tools of immorality. But at least a battling minority must exist in the economic and governmental orders to lead the fight. . . .

"The social teaching and spirit of Christ can alone remake the modern economic world. Those teachings not only strengthen the conviction that by nature, origin, descent, blood and soul the human race is one. They also bring in the new concept, the new gospel, that all are solidarily one in their common redemption by a Person of their own nature."—*International Economic Life*. A Report of the Ethics and Economic Relations Committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace. 1934. (pp. 44-48).

APPENDIX E

Forms of European Organization ¹

I. *A European Federation*

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I

This picture of, a peace-organized Europe implies a *supra-national* political organization which can only be a FEDERATION consisting of individual nations or smaller groups, each with full local administrative and cultural autonomy, but telescoped into the larger *EUROPEAN FEDERATION*.

¹ The papers which follow are digests of addresses given at the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D. C., April 14, 1941.

In order to make such a Federation a concrete reality it will be necessary to formulate a *CONSTITUTION*, to which all must subscribe, incorporating the following *FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES*:

1. *JUSTICE* being the foundation of any order in Society, and Justice being a *MORAL CONCEPT*, there must of necessity be a universally acknowledged and entirely autonomous *FRAMEWORK OF MORALITY*, which will be valid for and applicable to all individuals and to all groups, at all times and in every place.
2. The *DIGNITY* of the *HUMAN PERSON* (who is a self-sufficient end relative to his Creator), demands the God-given right to life and liberty, and full equality of civic rights for all.
3. The safeguards of liberty are most effective for achieving a right national development when there are some forms of democratic checks and controls of government.
4. It is essential that the principle and spirit of *CO-OPERATION*, in the social, economic and political fields, shall be fostered to the exclusion of all tendencies towards *ABSOLUTISM*, *DOMINATION* and *AUTARCHY*.

II

With these fundamental principles as a working basis, the following *TEN POINTS* should then be agreed upon, accepted and faithfully carried out:

I. The member States of the European Federation must at once renounce *their military sovereignty* and transfer it to the Federation.

This is the cardinal point for any sort of peace-organized society. No nation can be permitted to keep an armed force or any sort of military organization which would be strong enough to wage war against another nation. An all-round disarmament in principle must be accepted by the member States, similar to the various States within the U. S. A. which are disarmed for all practical military purposes.

The *FEDERATION* alone is entitled to keep an armed force. This should consist of an enlisted army of professional soldiers who are recruited from the member States, which must also provide equipment and money according to a quotient based on population figures and income.

Until this Federal Army has been built up the founding States shall keep an army of protection, made up of existing fighting units on a proportionate basis. This protection-force shall not be in existence longer than one year, after which the Federal Army must replace it.

The Supreme Command of this army shall be determined by the Federal Administration for the first ten years; after that period it shall be held by rotation.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Federal armed forces shall be the President of the Federal legislative body; the Supreme Command must carry out the orders of the Federal legislative body as transmitted by the President of that body.

II. The member States must cede to the Federation full *juridical jurisdiction* and sovereignty in all matters which, directly or indirectly, may affect the Federation.

The Supreme Court of Justice for the European Federation will be based on the maxim that the Right of the Federation takes precedence over the Right of any member State. Specifically this will involve the following:

The Supreme Court of the European Federation (following the model of the International Court of The Hague) will decide all disputes among the member States: *e.g.*, boundary questions; property claims; income from common measures; questions of division of assessments, etc.

International trade-laws should be brought into conformity with the economic co-operative system of the European Federation.

A Court of Appeals to safeguard the life and the constitutional principles of the European Federation.

Criminal law is dealt with only in cases where the delicts pertain to any national safeguards against other nations (*e.g.*, treason, espionage, etc.). The Federal Legislature will extend this power in the criminal field according to developing needs.

Criminal law should be so co-ordinated that delicts are not incurred in some countries when they are not so considered in others.

Punishments of criminal delicts should also tend towards conformity in order to establish equality before the Law for all citizens of the European Federation.

III. The members must be prepared to transfer (gradually) their customs—and currency sovereignty to the Federation.

Protective tariffs should be uniformly lowered as quickly as possible, and further reductions should engage at once the attention of the legislature of the European Federation.

Currency unity must be eventually introduced by the European Federation. Until that time, a controlled exchange must be in operation, backed by a special banking institute of the European Federation.

IV. All questions which affect ethnic MINORITIES in Europe become at once the rightful concern of the Federation and empower it to participate in all decisions relating to these Minorities.

A glance at the language-chart of Europe will at once demonstrate that Minorities exist in all parts of Europe within the boundaries of larger units. It is unlawful to try to solve minority-problems by forced evacuations and transplantation of communities. All forced population-changes will have to be adjudicated by the Court of the European Federation as to possible remedies or reversals.

The European Federation on the other hand demands of all minorities:

Cessation of all irridentist movements. Repudiation of the maxim that loyalty to race (or language group, etc.) supersedes loyalty to the national State.

Allegiance to the European Federation and to the member State within whose borders the minority may happen to live.

The European Federation at the same time guarantees to every minority, including the Jews (insofar as Jews wish to be considered so and not merely a religious group):

Protection against persecution or discrimination.

Full cultural autonomy, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles of allegiance and co-operation with the majority-group. The right to (minority)—schools, tax-supported like the majority-schools; the right to use the minority-language publicly and officially (where feasible).

The problem of the "State-less" should be solved by the Court of the European Federation or by new laws. In the meantime the place of birth may be considered to impart the right to claim nationality in that country.

V. All members agree to submit all disputes between them to compulsory arbitration.

This compulsory clause refers both to the duty of bringing all disputes before the Court of the European Federation and also to the peaceful acceptance of the arbitration award.

VI. Every member State must incorporate into its Constitution or its laws, the principles enunciated as the essential basis for the European Federation. There should be an endeavor to aim at unity in laws, in the spirit of the European Federation.

The *FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES* determine the possibility of existence for the European Federation. They are necessary to all members and indispensable for all actions by the European Federation.

VII. ANY European State, nation or group of nations, which is ready to accept these points and principles, is admissible to membership in the European Federation.

The European Federation will be founded and formed by those European nations who will take part in the peace conference at the end of this war, and whose heads (or their delegates) shall thereupon become the "Constituting Assembly" for the European Federation. This Constituting Assembly will have to call into being the Legislative Assembly of the European Federation and until that time, it will exercise the powers of the Administration of the European Federation.

Every European nation is entitled (on the basis of the fundamental principles) to send delegates to the Legislative Assembly of the European Federation according to the number of its population; these delegates are not appointed but are representatives of the people who must elect them by secret ballot-vote.

A separate branch of the Legislative Assembly shall consist of representatives of employer and labor groups. These shall have charge of all legislation pertaining to economic and labor questions.

The SENATE of the European Federation shall be composed of members elected on the basis of average income of the inhabitants. *E.g.*, one million inhabitants with an average income of 60 to 100 units, may have two representatives, while those whose income unit is from 30 to 60 units

may send one Senator. The life-time of a term of office, in the Assembly and in the Senate, is always for five years.

VIII. All the member States are entitled to be represented in the organization and administration of the European Federation legislative, judicial and executive bodies.

The proper appointments, selections and elections of these bodies lie within the province of the Legislative Assembly, which must set up the Government and the full Administration of the European Federation.

The highest functionary of the European Federation is the President of the Assembly. He is elected by secret ballot by the members of the Assembly and shall hold office for at least two years and not more than five years, to be determined by the members.

The European Federation shall take all necessary steps to safeguard its existence; these may be military, economic or political measures.

IX. Member States may conclude economic and cultural treaties with other nations or groups, provided, however, that such treaties do not go against the principles, development or spirit of the European Federation.

All such treaties must be submitted to the European Federation for registration. Treaties are in force only *after* they have been so registered with the European Federation.

X. *COLONIES*: Now under the administration of member States, become, in principle at least, the common responsibility of the European Federation with an accompanying right to share in the economic benefits. Special commissions of the European Federation will eventually deal with the problem of colonial administration, the political rights and the development-opportunities of the colonial-inhabitants.

The following principles will decide the future of colonies:

Colonies cannot remain the national property of any one member State.

All mandates and colonies shall become the mandate of the European Federation.

All member-States must have access to these colonies.

All economic and customs policies will become subordinated to the economic and customs policies of the European Federation.

The European Federation may legislate for all colonies or mandates.

The native-inhabitants of colonies must be given an opportunity to develop educationally, economically and politically to final maturity to self-government and incorporation into the larger European Federation.

Dominions may decide for themselves whether they shall ask for inclusion into the European Federation or remain an independent national State.

II. European Organization

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The penalty for not working out a satisfactory plan of European organization has been World War number II.

The primary problem of any European organization will center around the problem of what should be done with Germany, Italy, and Russia. Since Germany is the strongest military power of these three, since its technological advances have been so much greater, the problem of Germany is the most urgent. As Thorstein Veblen pointed out, Germany emerged into the modern world technologically advanced but with a politically backward dynastic concept of the State as an organization conceived especially for military conquest. Both under the second and the third Reich, Germany was dominated by this concept of the dynastic state which possessed the power of controlling the individual in every aspect social, economic, political, and cultural. Such a state was a menace not only to itself but to its neighbors as well.

The solution for Germany might be the establishment of a federal state in which the military clique of Prussia no longer had the dominant voice. Maritain would move the political and cultural center of gravity from the North to the South.

Such a federal state is a necessary step to be taken in freeing the German people from the bondage of selfish tyrants. The primary task will be the instruction of the German people.²

If the rest of Europe can be released from the fear of German aggression, it can then turn its thoughts towards some form of international organization in which the new Germany would have an equal share. The most vocal of all the groups has been that calling for a union of democracies. Streit patterns his plan along the lines of the American constitution with the fifteen democracies of the world in the position of states in the union. The senate of the organization would give equal representation to the fifteen democracies while a house of deputies would be elected according to population. The executive board of five persons would be elected by popular vote and by legislative appointment. Every individual would be a citizen both of his own state and of the new union. There would also be a supreme court to judge disputes between member states, a combined defense force for the union, a customs-free economy within the union and a common money and communications system. Colonies would be turned over to the union to be governed until they should become members of the union. Since many of the fifteen democracies are now under German control, Streit now proposes a union of the United States and Britain as a means of mutual defense as the focal point of a future federation. Fundamentally, this plan has its strong points in actual reality. At present, to all intents and purposes we have a union with Britain, though without the elaborate machinery suggested by Mr. Streit. The chances are that

² See Jacques Maritain, "Europe and the Federal Idea," *Commonweal*, XXXII.

we shall continue this unity of action until Nazi military might is crushed. The actual formation of a "federation" however, while it has much popular and educational appeal, involves a very complicated pattern of political relationships. It is extremely doubtful that these could be evolved in a world shaken by the upheaval caused by this war.

The idea of a federated Europe also overlooks the diversity of interests, the heritage of bitterness, and the unevenness in the stage of social development among the countries of the continent. A counter proposal suggests that groups of small countries adjacent to each other are better fitted by a community of interests to organize regionally first. Benes urged a "kind of federative reorganization, first perhaps in certain regions (the Danubian region, the Baltic region, the Balkans, or northern Europe)." This might be extended later to the whole of Europe. Since 1926, the Scandinavian powers have co-operated as the Oslo group. The Balkan powers have from time to time been the source of the ideas of a Danubian federation or Balkan union. A Danubian federation would reincorporate the territories of what was formerly the Austro-Hungarian Empire along with other areas forming part of the Danubian basin into a single association, allowing national, cultural, and such other autonomy as they deem fit to the separate parts. This might include Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Roumania and Yugoslavia. A Balkan federation would include Roumania and Yugoslavia but would reach southward to Turkey and the former territories of the Ottoman Empire (Greece, Bulgaria, and possibly Albania). Such a union might reduce the vulnerability of the Balkans to Great Power domination. Peace in an independent and united Balkan region would immeasurably enhance the possibility of European peace.

Whether Europe is organized on the basis of regional units or a federal state, there are certain international agencies which must be incorporated in either form. There must be an international court with jurisdiction adequate to deal with all international disputes on the basis of law. This court must be given the power not only to deal with disputes involving customary and treaty international law but also with disputes on a basis of equity and justice.

Secondly, the use of sanctions must be provided for. These can be either regional police forces or world-wide economic sanctions. Their purpose would be to prevent aggression not by waiting until weaker powers were attacked but rather to bolster such powers so strongly that no Great Power would find it feasible to attack them.

Thirdly, the League furnished the example of what agencies working in the social, economic, medical and cultural fields could do. The Bruce Report on the Reorganization of the League of Nations recommended that a new Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions be set up. This would have an autonomous and separate membership similar to that of the International Labor Organization which the United States eventually joined. This would have the advantage of giving members and non-members the opportunity for co-operation. Non-political problems

could be solved technically without being overshadowed by debates on politics. Such matters as international commerce, finance, health, nutrition and labor standards would be cared for. In the post war world, this will be one of the primary agencies.

Some legislative body must also be set up to deal with political problems as they arise. Such a body might be composed of representatives of states in a Senate and representatives of professional and occupational groups in a lower House. Over all would be an executive group to co-ordinate all activities. Among the most important of its duties would be the supervision of minorities treaties which would grant a degree of autonomy to all minorities, religious, racial, or economic.

Both the executive and legislative would have to adopt certain attitudes towards such matters as tariffs, colonies, unemployment, and raw materials. The immediate abolition of all tariff barriers could not be accomplished without positive detriment to all concerned. A gradual return to a system of free trade would be inevitable however. Such a body would have to be wary of facile attempts at "planning" production and distribution of goods. Much harm has been done on a national scale by abortive attempts to regulate such matters without taking all factors into consideration. As free trade triumphed, colonies would no longer be sought for exploitation. The enforcement of free trade would relieve the struggle for raw materials and the shift of populations from a region of little employment to one of greater economic opportunity.

No matter what kind of organization evolves, limitation of sovereignty must be a basic principle. Enforced arbitration, the right of the individual nation to declare war or to wage undeclared war must be abolished. The recognition by each nation of what President Roosevelt calls the "Four Freedoms" must become a fundamental principle. The fanatical nationalism of a National Socialist Germany or any other country must never again be permitted to develop within a state while the other states look on, half in apprehension, half in approval, because it means to rectify some "wrongs."

The machinery of such an organization, no matter how well received, will never function unless politics once more becomes intrinsically bound to ethics. Unless, as Maritain points out, the principles of mercy, justice, and charity take their place, no international machinery will work.

III. Steps Towards the Formation of a United Europe

REV. PATRICK J. HIGGINS, S.J.

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Preamble. In the event of a future situation which would permit of an undictated peace, and an unbiased and equitable settlement of European problems, the following steps towards a future unification of the continent of Europe appear feasible.

1. *First Step.* If the present war ends with the great majority of the European nations intact and viable, a Peace Conference and Economic

Conference consisting of representatives of all the European nations, except Britain and Russia, should be convened to consider the economic rehabilitation of Europe.

2. *Second Step.* This European Economic Conference should form itself into a permanent conference along the lines of the International Labor Organization, to meet yearly and to have a permanent secretariat, such as that of the International Labor Organization.

3. *Third Step.* This European Economic Conference should then take steps to transform itself into a European Commission for the management of an All-European Zollverein or Customs Union.

a. This Zollverein should be modeled after the German Zollverein of the nineteenth century.

b. As in the earlier Zollverein, all the participating nations would retain their political independence.

c. Neither Britain nor Russia would be included in this Zollverein; Britain because of its colonies; Russia because of its Communism.

4. *Fourth Step.* By an irresistible attraction, as in the historical case of the earlier German Zollverein, this All-European Customs Union will produce a European bond of friendship due to the resultant greater prosperity for all. Thus the groundwork for further unity will be laid. A further step, however, will be required to meet the Cartel system prevalent in Europe. To solve this problem, the European Economic Commission should then take steps to organize itself as a representative association of corporations from all the nations of Europe, such corporations to include equally the representatives of the labor unions and capitalists of all European countries participating in the European Economic Conference. As the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* proposed the use of such corporations as a feasible method for the settlement of national economic problems, so also such a European-wide association of corporations seems to be the logical solution for the problem of the international European Cartel.

5. *Fifth Step.* With the introduction of the united corporative movement in all of Europe, the several nations of Europe would have eliminated the chief cause of European conflicts, namely, economic contention. The racial, religious, and cultural rivalries would assume a decreased importance in view of the widely spread increased economic prosperity. Such rivalries could be solved by effecting some considerable degree of political autonomy in the midst of a strong economic union. Thus might eventuate in Europe a Federation of *Sovereign States* such as exists in the United States.

APPENDIX F

I. Christian Unity

PEACE POINTS JOINTLY ADOPTED BY ALL CHURCHES IN ENGLAND

The following letter appeared in *The London Times* of December 21, 1940, with a strong leading-article in support of it:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *TIMES*:

SIR: The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God.

We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle:

1. The assurance to all nations of their rights to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, attacked, or threatened order demands that reparation shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is determined, not by the sword nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfillment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them.

4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

With these basic principles for the ordering of international life we would associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested:

1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished.
2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capabilities.
3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded.
4. The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work.
5. The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

We are confident that the principles which we have enumerated would be accepted by rulers and statesmen throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be regarded as the true basis on which a lasting peace could be established.

Signed: COSMO CANTUAR, Archbishop of Canterbury; A. CARDINAL HINSLEY, Archbishop of Westminster; WALTER H. ARMSTRONG, Moderator, Free Church Federal Council; WILLIAM EBOR, Archbishop of York.

II. A Just and Durable Peace

An example of the work being done in this country looking toward a better world order is furnished by the publication, "A Just and Durable Peace," of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. This booklet is a compilation of many proposals which have been made for a just peace. It contains material on the following:

PRINCIPLES OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE RECOMMENDED BY RESPONSIBLE CHRISTIAN LEADERS: The American Churches and the International Situation; the World Crisis; the National Study Conference of the Churches and the International Situation (1940); the Malvern Conference, Malvern, England (1941); Proposals of Protestant and Roman Catholic Leaders of England; Religious Leaders' Manifesto (Britain) (1940); the Oxford Conference (1937); Excerpts from Memorandum prepared by an International Conference of Lay Experts and Ecumenical Leaders convened by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches; Memoranda of Study Department, Prepared under the auspices of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches; Relation of the Christian and the Church to the International Order—from Report of the Madras Conference; and Statements by Pope Pius XII.

CURRENT PROPOSALS REGARDING A NEW WORLD ORDER: Reorganization of the League of Nations; Labor's (British) Peace Aims; the National Peace Council (England); Plan of British Experts; Two London Proposals; Preliminary Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (United States); Regional Unions and Federations; Report of the National Peace Conference Commission on the World Community; Federal Union (Union Now); and Campaign for World Government.

READING SUGGESTIONS: Appendix A—Syllabus of Discussion Questions—prepared by Walter W. Van Kirk; Appendix B—Bibliography.

APPENDIX G

The World Society

"A disposition, in fact, of the divinely-sanctioned natural order divides the human race into social groups, nations or States, which are mutually independent in organization and in the direction of their internal life. But for all that, the human race is bound together by reciprocal ties, moral and juridical, into a great commonwealth directed to the good of all nations and ruled by special laws which protect its unity and promote its prosperity."—Pope Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus* (p. 29, N. C. W. C. Edition).

APPENDIX G'

Migration and Economic Justice

"According to the teaching of the *Rerum Novarum* nature itself has closely joined private property with the existence of human society and its true civilization and in a very special manner with the existence and development of the family. Such a link appears more than obvious. Should not private property secure for the father of a family the healthy liberty he needs in order to fulfill the duties assigned him by the Creator regarding the physical, spiritual and religious welfare of the family?

"In the family the nation finds the natural and fecund roots of its greatness and power. If private property has to conduce to the good of the family, all public standards, and specially those of the State which regulate its possession, must not only make possible and preserve such a function in the natural order under certain aspects superior to all others—but must also perfect it ever more.

"A so-called civil progress would in fact be unnatural which—either through the excessive burdens imposed or through exaggerated direct interference—were to render private property void of significance, practically taking from the family and its head the freedom to follow the scope set by God for the perfection of family life.

"Of all the goods that can be the object of private property none is more conformable to nature, according to the teaching of the *Rerum Novarum*, than the land, the holding in which the family lives, and from the products of which it draws all or part of its subsistence. And it is in the spirit of the *Rerum Novarum* to state that, as a rule, only that stability which is rooted in one's own holding makes of the family the vital and most perfect and fecund cell of society, joining up, in a brilliant manner, in its progressive cohesion the present and future generations. If today the concept and the creation of vital spaces is at the center of social and political aims, should not one, before all else, think of the vital space of the family and free it of the fetters of conditions which do not permit even to formulate the idea of a homestead of one's own?

"Our planet, with all its extent of oceans and seas and lakes, with mountains and plains covered with eternal snows and ice, with great deserts and tractless lands, is not, at the same time, without habitable regions and vital spaces now abandoned to wild natural vegetation and well suited to be cultivated by man to satisfy his needs and civil activities; and more than once, it is inevitable that some families migrating from one spot to another should go elsewhere in search of a new homeland. Then according to the teaching of the *Rerum Novarum* the right of the family to a vital space is recognized. When this happens emigration attains its natural scope as experience often shows; we mean the more favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface suitable to colonies of agricultural workers; that surface which God created and prepared for the use of all. If the two parties, those who agree to leave their native land

and those who agree to admit the newcomers, remain anxious to eliminate, as far as possible, all obstacles to the birth and growth of real confidence between the country of emigration and that of immigration, all those affected by such a transference of people and places will profit by the transaction: the families will receive a plot of ground which will be native land for them in the true sense of the word: the thickly inhabited countries will be relieved and their people will acquire new friends in foreign countries; and the States which receive the emigrants will acquire industrious citizens. In this way the nations which give and those which receive will both contribute to the increased welfare of man and the progress of human culture. . . .”—Pope Pius XII, Radio Address (Commemorating Issuance of Social Encyclicals), June 1, 1941.

APPENDIX H

Inter-American Co-operation

The Latin America Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace in 1929 issued a report on *Latin America and the United States* in which it proposed methods of preventing the domination of Latin America by either the United States or Europe, including the following proposal for the Inter-American protection of the Monroe Doctrine:

“Mutual agreement among the American republics upon their mutual rights and duties, formulated in a code of law.

“Creation of a Pan-American Court to interpret the code.

“Creation of a method of Inter-American sanction as contrasted with sanction by ourselves alone.

“Limitation of sanctions to peaceful means until there is hope in sufficiently important cases in none but armed intervention.”

APPENDIX I

International Boycott Agreement

The following paragraphs are taken from a statement favoring an international boycott, issued in February, 1933, by the Chairmen of the Ethics, Economic Relations, and International Law and Organization Committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace and thirty-one members of these committees and of the Executive Committee of the Association:

“While the nations by treaty have renounced war as an instrument of national policy, the question still stands open as to what action should be taken by a nation that violates the treaty and thereby imperils in a closely knit world the peace of nations everywhere. . . .

“A penalty short of war is necessary to prevent war. The penalty that is immediately effective in case war threatens or has been declared is the economic penalty of boycotting the nation which refuses arbitration or arbitral decision. If the nations were in earnest to stop a war this

would probably be the action decided on in the international consultation which both major parties have agreed should be the settled practice of our country when war threatens anywhere. But unless the United States agrees to a boycott policy beforehand, the air cannot be cleared of fears because there would be no certainty of any effective peaceful action whatsoever. Indeed unless a different policy is agreed on beforehand, the nations might after consultation even leap to the ultimate sanction of war.

"We recommend, therefore, that the United States call a conference of all the nations that signed the Kellogg Pact for the purpose of negotiating an agreement by all, both to consult and join in an international boycott against any nation found after consultation to have violated its agreement to use only peaceful means to settle its disputes.

"The boycott should be as extensive as is necessary to scotch the evil. Certainly it should be agreed beforehand to levy it against direct military supplies and articles closely related thereto, and loans for these purposes. Beyond that point it could at the time of consultation be extended to other categories of supplies as needed.

"The proposal contemplates an agreement of all the nations to consult and an agreement to join under the above conditions in an international boycott. Its purpose is to prevent war immediately upon threat of its outbreak or actual outbreak by the most drastic sanction possible short of war itself. For its fully effective and just use there is, indeed, implied a world better organized than ours is now, and one habituated to joint consultation and action, equipped with the institutions of arbitration, conciliation and pacific settlement of international problems, and imbued with the determination to place morality above physical power. . . ."

APPENDIX J

Farms of World Organization ¹

I. *An Outline for World Organization*

MARIE J. CARROLL

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"Once the bitterness and cruel strifes of the present have ceased, the new order of the world, of national and international life, must rest no longer on the quicksands of changeable and ephemeral standards that depend only on the selfish interests of groups and individuals. No, they must rest on the unshakable foundation, on the solid rock of natural law and Divine Revelation. There the human legislator must attain to that balance, that keen sense of moral responsibility, without which it is easy to mistake the boundary between the legitimate use and abuse of power."—*Summi Pontificatus* (Pope Pius XII, October 20, 1939, "The Function of the State in the Modern World").

¹ The two forms given are digests of proposals made at the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the C. A. I. P., Washington, D. C., April 15, 1941.

Any framework for building the machinery of peace after this war must take account of the structure and work of the League of Nations. Almost all the proposed plans for world organization emphasize the necessity for restoring the League in some altered form. Because its success was limited to achievements in the field of non-political activities, Americans are prone to scoff at its imperfections. The experience gained in the twenty years of its existence will no doubt prove valuable in planning the new order of international co-operation and collective responsibility for security.

The political philosophy of some of the major nations today may stand in the way of building a universal association, as they believe in the absolute sovereignty of the national state, not only over the rights of its citizens, but also in its relations to other states. It will be of no value to force unwanted membership upon such states. Efforts should be made, however, to create a community of interest which will demonstrate the advantages of world unity.

A stable international order, based upon morality and law, the interdependence of peoples and the stimulation of international trade, can be created if every nation in the future accepts its obligations in the family of nations. War must be brought under control if there is to be any possibility of order and stability and co-operation among the nations of the world.

Peace requires the control of force by the organized community. Otherwise, violence will be used by some state or states to achieve its own purposes by aggression.

Certain international controls must be provided in this universal or world organization, such as a world court for the adjudication of disputes, equity tribunals or conciliation commissions for non-justiciable disputes requiring peaceful adjustment; a legislative body or parliament, representative not only of governments in power but also of major groups within states, with the power to impose sanctions against aggressors, adequate police forces, either regional or world-wide, and various commissions for administration of social and economic problems.

Economic management for the advancement of human freedom as a substitute for economic nationalism and autarchy requires the international supervision of trade and finance. Control of raw materials and markets and access thereto are matters which a world economic organization must deal with in order to assure benefits to all members of the world association, and to firmly establish the economic foundations of peace after this war. The major problems of world reconstruction will lie in the economic field for many decades to come, and adequate machinery to supervise the commercial policies of members of the world association must be created so as to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe.

An inter-governmental banking system, modeled upon the Bank for International Settlements, and regional banking systems to regulate the course

of investment funds and the flow of trade, such as the charter of the Inter-American Bank drawn up on October 3, 1939, for promotion of hemisphere trade, are essential to the functioning of intelligently planned trade relations.

So many of the economic needs and interests of peoples do not coincide with the political frontiers in which they are confined that national economic security can only be attained in an international order flexible enough to insure peaceful change and capable of breaking down economic nationalism.

An international congress consisting not only of the belligerent states, but also neutral states, with adequate representation of labor, agricultural, industrial and consumer groups should be convened after the treaty of peace ending the present war has been negotiated by the belligerents. The two vital problems to be considered by this representative assembly will be the maintenance of peace, and economic and social reconstruction.

Since no nation can be trusted to be the sole judge of its own actions, it must recognize certain moral obligations, based on law and justice, towards other nations and provide for an International Authority to exercise the powers necessary to secure justice and prevent aggression.

The Bill of Rights for the Peoples of the World (see Proposed Bill of Rights by Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.), would guarantee the national existence of all states within the organized world community and form the basic principles of a new and better world order. Recognizing also that the unit of value is the individual and that the least of these must be assured of certain fundamental rights and liberties, a Bill of Human Rights would be incorporated with the Declaration of International Rights in the provisions of a Constitution for World Government to which all states would pledge themselves upon admission to membership.

A limitation upon absolute sovereignty of the nation-state, for the purpose of curbing economic imperialism, and the elimination of the use of armed force to impose its will on others must be accepted if human interests are to be organized on the underlying principles of social justice and political and economic security. The unwillingness to abridge national sovereignty has been and remains today the chief obstacle to effective world organization.

One of the fundamental points for a just and honorable peace laid down in the "Five Point Peace Program" of Pope Pius XII on December 24, 1939, concerns the necessity of international organization.²

Whether this International Institution or Authority be a reconstituted League of Nations, a world federation or union, a world association or society of states, its two main functions of maintaining peace and organizing the economic and social life of peoples with a view to the moral and material welfare of humanity should be kept quite separate. The procedures for carrying out these purposes might take the following form:

² See Point III of the Preface.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

Assembly: With jurisdiction over all matters, political, economic and social. Ultimate authority for international legislation rests with this representative body. Delegates will represent each member state. Two-thirds will be elected by the people to represent economic groups—workers and employers and consumers—and one-third appointed by government. Voting will be by individuals and a two-thirds vote will be required for passage of any measure.

Executive Board or Council: Will be composed of fifteen eminent persons, not representatives of any Member State, who will be elected by the Assembly and serve as an administrative body. The control of the International Police Force will be under jurisdiction of the Executive Board.

Auxiliary Organizations Such as International Reconstruction and Labor Organization—The three semi-autonomous organizations—the International Labor Organization, the Economic and Financial Organization, the Communications and Transit Organization—and the Social Questions Section of the League are co-ordinated to form the *International Reconstruction and Labor Organization* with one Governing Body, conferences and research institutes responsible to the Assembly. Will have control of matters in specific fields designated by Assembly for consideration and action for betterment of social and economic life. Each organization will be represented in its conferences and governing body by delegates representing agriculture, capital goods industries, consumer goods industries, transportation, financial and economic experts, professional groups, employers, workers and administrative officers of governments, elected within Member States. Decisions will be by majority vote. Reports of action taken will be submitted to Assembly for approval and recommendations of Assembly for work will be carried out.

Intellectual Co-operation Organization: To bring about a spiritual renaissance, to co-ordinate programs for the education of the peoples through churches, educational institutions, radio, press and literature, on the principles basic to the organization of peace, and to foster an appreciation of the cultures and achievements of the various peoples of the earth.

Administrative Commissions: Responsible to Assembly for administrative work under resolutions passed by Assembly. Personnel to be appointed by Executive Board or Council.

POWERS OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

To consider any question affecting international co-operation for maintenance of peace based on justice between nations and justice and freedom within nations, and to carry out and apply the principles in the Bill of Human Rights and Bill of Rights for Peoples. To submit disputes to conciliation commissions, equity tribunals or to the World Court for settlement after failure of parties to agree on solution.

To review treaties made by members to examine possibility of agreements entered into which may prove detrimental to interests of others in conduct of foreign policy.

To place the responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing violence which may lead to war, upon the Executive Board with power to give orders to Commander of International Police Force.

To maintain an International Police Force open to service by enlistment of nationals of member states, but not provided in units by the various nations. Salaries to be paid for out of international budget. To provide for an International Air Force larger than that of any individual nation to protect member states who may become victims of aggression.

To supervise all humanitarian activities carried out by the Auxiliary Organizations by discussion of conference and committee reports and by receiving recommendations for submission to Assembly, or Congress.

To provide for peaceful change of intolerable conditions in the relations between states.

*Regional Pacts or Federation With a World Organization as the
Source of Authority*

European Federation

European union or confederation for political security is the central problem.

A European union working with the other continents within the framework of a world community with powers and functions to preserve peace and secure justice throughout its geographical area is the keystone of an effective world organization.

Europe must organize a federation with a military and air police more powerful than the force of any of the member states. (See "European Federation" by Rev. Gregory Feige.)

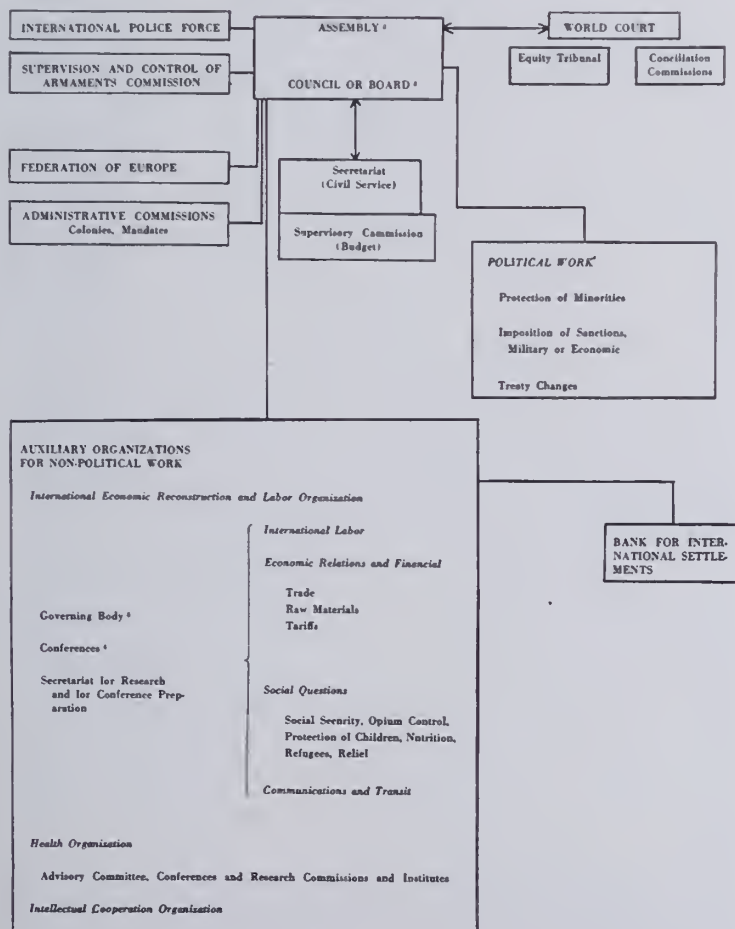
Other regional groupings which might be entrusted with the solution of political difficulties arising in those areas are the Western Hemisphere (exclusive of Canada and European possessions), the British Empire, Asia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The inter-federation relations and those of the federations with the International Authority present so many complexities in the field of Administrative machinery that no attempt will be made to develop them here.

This Outline attempts to apply the principles enunciated in the various pronouncements of Our Holy Father "for a new order that will be solid, true and just." In his Easter Sunday message, April 13, 1941, Pope Pius XII prayed for peace based not upon the oppression and destruction of peoples but peace which, while guaranteeing the honor of all nations, will satisfy their vital needs and insure the legitimate rights of all." He expressed the hope "that a new spirit may take root and develop in all peoples and especially among those whose greater power gives them wider influence and imposes upon them additional responsibility; the spirit of willingness, devoid of sham and artifice, that is ready to make mutual sacrifices in order to build upon the accumulated ruins of war, a new edifice of fraternal solidarity among the nations of the world, an edifice built upon new and stronger foundations, with fixed and stable guarantees, and with

a high sense of moral sincerity which would repudiate every double standard of morality and justice for the great and small or for the strong and the weak."

STRUCTURE OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

(Based on Constitution embodying Bill of Rights for Peoples and Bill of Human Rights)



3 Decisions to be by two-thirds vote.

4 Decisions to be by majority vote.

II. *Plan for a World Organization*

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In attempting to prepare a plan or alternative plans of a world organization it is necessary to consider first the functions which such an organization is intended to serve. Its primary function must, of course, be to prevent violence. The second function of the international organization is that of promoting justice. This function is an essential condition of the successful accomplishment of the function of preventing violence. In addition to these two essential functions there are many others of an economic and social character which should be directed towards the improvement of living conditions in different nations. During the past twenty years many of these functions have been administered by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and their general character is well understood and almost universally approved.

With the above functions to perform the machinery of the organization of the community of nations may take many forms. No definite blue prints can be made at this time; but certain broad features may be described. There must be an executive agency to prevent violence. This agency must be composed of a world court for the settlement of disputes of a legal character, and an executive council for the temporary adjustment of controversies which are not susceptible of judicial settlement by the court because of the lack of clear rules of law to be applied to them. The executive council must also be the body to take prompt action in all cases of a threat to the peace where one party refuses to submit its dispute either to judicial settlement by the court or to temporary adjustment by the executive council. This latter function may make it necessary for the executive council to have at its disposal some sort of an international police force which can be used in emergencies.

The legislative functions of the world organization call for a general assembly of all the nations. In this assembly not only will it be necessary to weight the representation of the different nations so as to give a fair representation to the population of the State and to its degree of economic development; but it will also be desirable to arrange that the representation of a particular state shall take into account the different interests of the State and thus to be a cross-section of people rather than the expression of the views of the government that happens to be in power. This last feature will encourage the delegates who, in different states, represent interests of the same general character to find a basis of co-operation which will cut across national lines and tend to promote national unity.

Within the framework of the larger international organization the effort must be made to develop regional organizations which will undertake to promote regional interests as distinct from world interests. Some form of European regional federation is clearly called for, as indicated by the *Statement of Peace Aims*. It should also be possible to develop more fully the

regional organization of the Inter-American community, bearing in mind the necessary relation of the interests of many of the Latin American states to the European regional federation and to individual European states.

It is important that at this time as many forms of international organization as appear in any way practicable should be examined and studied; not with the object of deciding which of them is the most feasible, but with the object of preparing ourselves to appraise constructively the proposals that may be made when the war is over and definite blue prints are drawn up. Unless we study the problem now in the light of possible alternatives we may find ourselves in the position of opposing plans which could well be supported as transitional steps to something better. Experience suggests that a satisfactory form of international organization may be likely to be obtained only after resort has been had to temporary expedients during the critical period following the war. The important thing is not to await agreement upon a perfect plan of organization, but to keep before us the great objectives, the prevention of violence and the promotion of justice; and to be ready to support any practical form of preliminary organization, provided there is provision for amendment and improvement.

APPENDIX K

American Catholics and Peace Aims

"The American people has, through orderly democratic action, expressed its solemn judgment that to be safe in the world today our nation must be strong. That judgment is reflected in the greatest defense effort in the history of the United States. An adequate program of national defense, as we see it, embraces both strength in arms and strength in spirit. With armed strength, it is not for us Bishops to deal. We leave that to our civil and military authorities. Our particular part in any program of national defense must have to do with the things of the spirit.

"We are deeply concerned, therefore, with seeing to it that the spiritual influences of their home communities shall follow our boys who answer their country's call to train themselves to be their country's defenders if the need arise. Our Government has followed the best of American traditions in entrusting the task of maintaining morale for camp communities and defense areas to private agencies whose service is inspired and guided by faith in God and love for man. We deeply appreciate the confidence this invitation implies, the challenge it carries and the co-operation it promotes. . . .

"The will of America today is set on peace, not war, as the aim of our defense program. The strongest defense weapon with which we can equip the American soldier is a clear vision of the kind of peace that constitutes our ideal. An august voice has sounded again and again in an America still at peace, as well as in a Europe already at war, applying to the conditions of our day the Gospel message of peace on earth to men of good

will. In his Christmas allocution of 1939, Pope Pius XII laid down these five essential points of world order, and therefore of enduring world peace:

"First—the assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence—the will of one nation to live, never justifying the death sentence of another.

"Second—Progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of agreements to this end.

"Third—Juridical institutions guaranteeing loyal fulfillment of peace terms and providing for revisions called for by changing conditions.

"Fourth—Satisfaction of the fair demands of national and racial minorities.

"Fifth—A deep sense of responsibility for the observance of the precepts of justice and charity among men and nations.

"It is significant, indeed, that the authoritative spokesmen for widely divergent Christian groups in a great nation now at war have publicly accepted these five points as basic principles for a just peace and commended them to the consideration of their government. This action is an inspiration to all who have the cause of true Christian peace at heart. . . .

"No armament for national defense for peace can be strong which lacks the spiritual armory of prayer for peace. . . .

"In the spirit of Christian brotherhood, therefore, we shall pray, first of all, for the victims of cruel war in all lands. In the same spirit, too, we shall pray for an early peace; we shall pray for a world-wide peace; we shall pray for a peace, not based on the oppression or the destruction of peoples, but for a peace which will guarantee the rights and the honor of all nations and satisfy their vital needs.

"And in our prayers we shall not forget fervently to beg God to guide and strengthen our President, our Congress and all our civil authorities in the overwhelming responsibilities of this tragic hour."—Statement of Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, April 26, 1941.

APPENDIX L

Student Peace Federations Resolution

The following resolution, passed by the Capital, Lake Erie, Middle Atlantic, Mid-Western, New England and Ohio Valley Student Peace Federations of the C. A. I. P., at their annual meeting, April 16, 1941, furnishes a heartening example of recognition of responsibility for world order:

"Resolved: That the Catholic Student Peace Federations urge their respective units to study plans for a European and world federation for justice and peace in order that the United States will do its part to obtain a peaceful and just world when this war ends."

THE Catholic Association for International Peace is a membership organization. Its object is to further, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the "Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ," through the preparation and distribution of studies applying Christian teaching to international life.

It was organized in a series of meetings during 1926 and 1927—the first held just following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, the second held in Cleveland that fall to form an organizing committee, and the third in Easter week, 1927, in Washington, when the permanent organization was established.

The Association works through the preparation of committee reports. Following careful preparation, these are discussed both publicly and privately in order to secure able revision. They are then published by the organization. Questions involving moral judgments are submitted to the Committee on Ethics.

The Association solicits especially the membership and co-operation of those whose experience and studies are such that they can take part in the preparation of Committee reports.

The junior branch of the Association is composed of students in International Relations Clubs in more than a hundred Catholic colleges and in Catholic clubs of secular universities. The separate clubs are united in geographical federations, *e. g.*, New England, Lake Erie, Middle Atlantic, Capital, Ohio Valley, Mid-Western and Central. They are known as Catholic Student Peace Federations and receive the co-operation and assistance of the parent organization. The Catholic Student Peace Federations are autonomous and function under the direction of Boards of Directors composed of six student officers, four faculty advisers and one regional faculty adviser. A national Co-ordinating Committee brings together the regional federations.

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